

Earlier this year, many Members of this House will remember that we carried a bill to honor Byron Nelson with a Congressional Gold Medal. It is ironic that today I learned that the medal bill which passed the House last May had indeed received the requisite 67 cosponsors on the Senate side and may well be acted upon soon. I am very fortunate to have spoke with Mr. Nelson as recently as late last week and informed him of the fact that we did indeed seem to have the Senate cosponsorships necessary to get the Congressional Gold Medal bill done for him. He was very humbled by that, and in fact, he asked, "Well, Congressman, what can I do to help you?" And I said, "Mr. Nelson, you just stay strong for me."

Well, unfortunately, it did not occur that Mr. Nelson was still alive when he got that gold medal, but I do believe in his heart he knew that this Congress was indeed going to honor him.

Dallas Morning News, in their lead editorial for tomorrow morning, "Lord Byron: He was a rare golfer and humanitarian," leads off with the comment: "What was remarkable about Byron Nelson's life was that the late golfer remains a household name, especially in north Texas, six decades after retiring from an active career on the PGA tour."

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Nelson retired in the early 1950s. Indeed, Mr. Nelson was not my sports hero; he was my mother's sports hero. He truly transcended generation after generation of north Texans, and he and his wife, Peggy, have given back so much to the citizens in our area.

□ 2330

The Channel 8 news this evening, in their evening broadcast, had a small clip of Byron Nelson in his famous chair there at his home and ranch in Roanoke, Texas, saying, "I just wanted to live my life good enough that one day I could get into heaven." Dale Hansen, the sportscaster who was monitoring the broadcast, finished up with, "Mr. Nelson, you did and you will."

I believe him to be correct. Mr. Nelson, we honor your life and your service. Godspeed. We will see you at the top.

GLOBAL TERRORISM

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from Ohio (Ms. KAPTUR) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, President George Bush, in creating fear about terrorists in the American people rather than understanding, often says, "If we don't fight terrorists over there, we will have to fight them right here." He never bothers to explain in detail who the terrorists are or what motivates them or how his policies are creating more of them. The President's explanations are too simplistic, and they are wrong.

The President tried to convince us if we got Saddam Hussein and brought

him to justice the battle for peace in the Middle East would take a favorable turn. Indeed, the opposite has happened as Iraq descends into chaos. Indeed, despite the military firmness and bravery of our soldiers, the Iraq war has actually failed politically by failing to win the hearts and minds of the people.

Equally bad, the Iraq war has strengthened Iran and those loyal to it. By removing Saddam Hussein as a counterweight to Iran, President Bush has left a vacuum now being filled by increasingly radicalized Shia populations and disillusioned Sunnis. The Shia and Kurd factions inside Iraq and the outnumbered Sunnis are now at one another's throats. Great instability is being created in a region where rising religious fundamentalism, unleashed by Saddam's ouster, is the glue that is binding a rising revolution of expectations by formerly suppressed populations.

The President's own White House was forced this week to declassify an intelligence report that I am going to put in the RECORD. This is a summary, called "Trends in Global Terrorism, a National Intelligence Estimate," and this report says the Iraq war is shaping a new generation of terrorists.

Anyone who knows anything about what is causing rising levels of hatred against the United States in the Middle East would have anticipated this eventuality. The key question the President and we must address and face is, why do his policies yield more and more terrorists who want to harm us, and harm us in many places beyond the boundaries of Iraq and Afghanistan?

The complete story will show terrorists will continue to plot ways to harm America because more than wanting to come here, although some of them are capable of doing that, they want America and American influence out of their countries and regions. They want us out of there more than they want to come here.

Rather than striking fear in the American people, the President ought to do more to explain the forces creating this anti-American and anti-Western sentiment across those troubled regions. Which American interests have caused this antagonism to our Nation? An important question to answer. In what countries has this hatred been fomented? Another important question to answer. And what is the face there of America that is hated more and more?

Let me suggest part of that face involves U.S. oil alliances in cahoots with some of the most repressive and brutal regimes and leaders who hold down the potential of their own people. There is not a democracy over there, and we are totally reliant on all of those oil kingdoms.

Let me suggest that the presence of U.S. military bases that ensure the status quo of those repressive regimes doesn't help.

Let me suggest America is hated more because we are not viewed as

being evenhanded at arriving at fair and just peace settlements between Israel and the Palestinians and their neighbors. We need to do a better job of cultivating evenhanded diplomacy in the region.

Let me suggest our U.S. popular culture and many of its excesses are regarded as abhorrent to the fundamentalist legions that have gained even greater ascendancy after the disgusting and outrageous behavior by Americans at Abu Ghraib.

Let me suggest the U.S. now is being viewed by the multitudes of Muslims as fighting a religious war against Islam. President Bush made a huge blunder at the start of the Iraqi war by calling it a Crusade hearkening back to the Christian wars. His battle cry gaffe echoed across the Muslim world and became a rallying point for the opposition. How tragic and inappropriate.

Let me quote from a wise American voice who tries to enlighten about the roots of terrorism, rather than strike fear in our people:

Robert Baer, author of best selling book *See No Evil*, is a decorated CIA agent who put his life on the line for our Nation for three decades. He tries to build understanding about the conditions giving rise to terrorism. He defines our problem as larger than just a few men—like Bin Laden and Hussein—and their followers. He argues the reason animosity is growing against the U.S. is the result of much larger forces spanning several decades. To name but one element of the challenge we face—he discusses the Muslim Brotherhood.

The Muslim Brotherhood was an amorphous, dangerous, unpredictable movement that shook every government in the Middle East to its bones. Founded by an Egyptian, Hasan Al-Banna, in 1929 it was dedicated to bringing the Kingdom of God to earth. The Egyptian Muslim Brothers had unsuccessfully tried to kill Egyptian President Abdul Nasser. The Syrian branch had tried to kill Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad a couple of times. In 1982, its followers seized Hama, a historic city in central Syria, provoking Asad into shelling them and Hama into the next life.

The Muslim Brothers are also distant cousins of the Wahabis of Saudia Arabia, the most puritanical sect in Islam. Underwritten by the Saudi royal family, the Wahabis spawned Osama bin Laden. They also served as the inspiration for the Taliban in Afghanistan and other radical Sunni movements. Many Muslims consider the Wahabis dangerous because they adopted the beliefs of Ibn Taymiyah, a 14th century Islamic scholar who condoned political assassination. Al-Jihad, the Egyptian fundamentalist who murdered Egyptian President Anwar Sadat relied on Ibn Taymiyah as justification for what they did.

Understanding the forces that generate terrorism is fundamental for solving it. The National Intelligence Report summarizes some of the essential steps our Nation must take to broaden our understanding of what it will take to break our dependence on oil regimes, resolve peace settlements that have been let languish, and form alliances that are broadly representative and democratic in their focus. The world needs more understanding, not fear, to counter terrorism.

Mr. Speaker, I am very sorry that my time is out. I will continue tomorrow with an additional statement including complementary remarks about the

book "See No Evil" by Robert Baer that gets the picture right.

The NIE report I referred to earlier is as follows:

NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE ESTIMATE—TRENDS IN GLOBAL TERRORISM: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE UNITED STATES

DECLASSIFIED KEY JUDGMENTS OF THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE ESTIMATE "TRENDS IN GLOBAL TERRORISM: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE UNITED STATES" DATED APRIL 2006

Key Judgments: United States-led counterterrorism efforts have seriously damaged the leadership of al-Qa'ida and disrupted its operations; however, we judge that al-Qa'ida will continue to pose the greatest threat to the Homeland and U.S. interests abroad by a single terrorist organization. We also assess that the global jihadist movement—which includes al-Qa'ida, affiliated and independent terrorist groups, and emerging networks and cells—is spreading and adapting to counterterrorism efforts.

Although we cannot measure the extent of the spread with precision, a large body of all-source reporting indicates that activists identifying themselves as jihadists, although a small percentage of Muslims, are increasing in both number and geographic dispersion.

If this trend continues, threats to U.S. interests at home and abroad will become more diverse, leading to increasing attacks worldwide.

Greater pluralism and more responsive political systems in Muslim majority nations would alleviate some of the grievances jihadists exploit. Over time, such progress, together with sustained, multifaceted programs targeting the vulnerabilities of the jihadist movement and continued pressure on al-Qa'ida, could erode support for the jihadists.

We assess that the global jihadist movement is decentralized, lacks a coherent global strategy, and is becoming more diffuse. New jihadist networks and cells, with anti-American agendas, are increasingly likely to emerge. The confluence of shared purpose and dispersed actors will make it harder to find and undermine jihadist groups.

We assess that the operational threat from self-radicalized cells will grow in importance to U.S. counterterrorism efforts, particularly abroad but also in the Homeland.

The jihadists regard Europe as an important venue for attacking Western interests. Extremist networks inside the extensive Muslim diasporas in Europe facilitate recruitment and staging for urban attacks, as illustrated by the 2004 Madrid and 2005 London bombings.

We assess that the Iraq jihad is shaping a new generation of terrorist leaders and operatives; perceived jihadist success there would inspire more fighters to continue the struggle elsewhere.

The Iraq conflict has become the "cause celebre" for jihadists, breeding a deep resentment of U.S. involvement in the Muslim world and cultivating supporters for the global jihadist movement. Should jihadists leaving Iraq perceive themselves, and be perceived, to have failed, we judge fewer fighters will be inspired to carry on the fight.

We assess that the underlying factors fueling the spread of the movement outweigh its vulnerabilities and are likely to do so for the duration of the timeframe of this Estimate.

Four underlying factors are fueling the spread of the jihadist movement: (1) Entrenched grievances, such as corruption, injustice, and fear of Western domination, leading to anger, humiliation, and a sense of powerlessness; (2) the Iraq "jihad;" (3) the slow pace of real and sustained economic, so-

cial, and political reforms in many Muslim majority nations; and (4) pervasive anti-U.S. sentiment among most Muslims—all of which jihadists exploit.

Concomitant vulnerabilities in the jihadist movement have emerged that, if fully exposed and exploited, could begin to slow the spread of the movement. They include dependence on the continuation of Muslim-related conflicts, the limited appeal of the jihadists' radical ideology, the emergence of respected voices of moderation, and criticism of the violent tactics employed against mostly Muslim citizens.

The jihadists' greatest vulnerability is that their ultimate political solution—an ultra-conservative interpretation of sharia-based governance spanning the Muslim world—is unpopular with the vast majority of Muslims. Exposing the religious and political straitjacket that is implied by the jihadists' propaganda would help to divide them from the audiences they seek to persuade.

Recent condemnations of violence and extremist religious interpretations by a few notable Muslim clerics signal a trend that could facilitate the growth of a constructive alternative to jihadist ideology: peaceful political activism. This also could lead to the consistent and dynamic participation of broader Muslim communities in rejecting violence, reducing the ability of radicals to capitalize on passive community support. In this way, the Muslim mainstream emerges as the most powerful weapon in the war on terrorism.

Countering the spread of the jihadist movement will require coordinated multilateral efforts that go well beyond operations to capture or kill terrorist leaders.

If democratic reform efforts in Muslim majority nations progress over the next five years, political participation probably would drive a wedge between intransigent extremists and groups willing to use the political process to achieve their local objectives. Nonetheless, attendant reforms and potentially destabilizing transitions will create new opportunities for jihadists to exploit.

Al-Qa'ida, now merged with Abu Mus'ab al-Zarqawi's network, is exploiting the situation in Iraq to attract new recruits and donors and to maintain its leadership role.

The loss of key leaders, particularly Usama bin Ladin, Ayman al-Zawahiri, and al-Zarqawi, in rapid succession, probably would cause the group to fracture into smaller groups. Although like-minded individuals would endeavor to carry on the mission, the loss of these key leaders would exacerbate strains and disagreements. We assess that the resulting splinter groups would, at least for a time, pose a less serious threat to U.S. interests than does al-Qa'ida.

Should al-Zarqawi continue to evade capture and scale back attacks against Muslims, we assess he could broaden his popular appeal and present a global threat.

The increased role of Iraqis in managing the operations of al-Qa'ida in Iraq might lead veteran foreign jihadists to focus their efforts on external operations.

Other affiliated Sunni extremist organizations, such as Jemaah Islamiya, Ansar al-Sunnah, and several North African groups, unless countered, are likely to expand their reach and become more capable of multiple and/or mass-casualty attacks outside their traditional areas of operation.

We assess that such groups pose less of a danger to the Homeland than does al-Qa'ida but will pose varying degrees of threat to our allies and to U.S. interests abroad. The focus of their attacks is likely to ebb and flow between local regime targets and regional or global ones.

We judge that most jihadist groups—both well-known and newly formed—will use im-

provided explosive devices and suicide attacks focused primarily on soft targets to implement their asymmetric warfare strategy, and that they will attempt to conduct sustained terrorist attacks in urban environments. Fighters with experience in Iraq are a potential source of leadership for jihadists pursuing these tactics.

CBRN capabilities will continue to be sought by jihadist groups.

While Iran, and to a lesser extent Syria, remain the most active state sponsors of terrorism, many other states will be unable to prevent territory or resources from being exploited by terrorists.

Anti-U.S. and anti-globalization sentiment is on the rise and fueling other radical ideologies. This could prompt some leftist, nationalist, or separatist groups to adopt terrorist methods to attack U.S. interests. The radicalization process is occurring more quickly, more widely, and more anonymously in the Internet age, raising the likelihood of surprise attacks by unknown groups whose members and supporters may be difficult to pinpoint.

We judge that groups of all stripes will increasingly use the Internet to communicate, propagandize, recruit, train, and obtain logistical and financial support.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Idaho (Mr. SIMPSON) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. SIMPSON addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from California (Ms. WOOLSEY) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Ms. WOOLSEY addressed the House. Her remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. POE) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. POE addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Washington (Mr. McDERMOTT) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. McDERMOTT addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from California (Mr. GEORGE MILLER) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Utah (Mr. BISHOP) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. BISHOP of Utah addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)